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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-07 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 NASA-01 OES-07 CIAE-00
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 DHA-02 /089 W
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O R 031300Z AUG 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 546
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOVIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION GENEVA
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MBFR VIENNA 904
DIA WASHDC

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, SALT, SOPN, UR, US
SUBJECT: ARBATOV PRAVDA ARTICLE ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR GEORGIY
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ARBATOV HAS A LONG EVALUATION OF "SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS
TODAY" IN AUG. 3 PRAVDA (ASSUME DEPARTMENT HAS FBIS
SUMMARY). ARTICLE IS WRITTEN IN AUTHORITATIVE TERMS AND
APPEARS TO BE, IN PART, SOVIET REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S
CHARLESTON ADDRESS. IT IS HARD-HITTING IN ITS
CRITICISM AND NEGATIVE IN ITS OVERALL EVALUATION OF
THE CURRENT STATE OF RELATIONS BUT IT CLOSES ON AN

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UPBEAT AND MILDLY OPTIMISTIC NOTE. ARBATOV REFRAINS FROM INVECTIVE AND PERSONAL ATTACKS ALTHOUGH HIS CRITICISMS ARE CLEARLY DIRECTED AT THE PRESIDENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION. FOLLOWING STRIKE US AS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POINTS IN ARBATOV'S PIECE. END SUMMARY.

1. DETENTE. ARBATOV CATEGORICALLY REJECTS ANY REDEFINITION OF DETENTE AND INSISTS ON DESCRIBING DETENTE IN TRADITIONAL SOVIET TERMS. HE SPECIFICALLY TIES NEW ADMINISTRATION TO THE LAST 12 MONTHS OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO RECATEGORIZE DETENTE. DISMISSING "REGULARIZED COMPETITION" AS A SUBSTITUTE TERM FOR DETENTE, ARBATOV REGARDS IT AS "COLD DETENTE" WHICH HE REJECTS AS MUCH AS HE DOES "COLD WAR."

2. SALT. ARBATOV'S TREATMENT OF SALT IS IN TRADI-
TIONAL TERMS, BLAMING THE U.S. FOR ATTEMPTING IN MARCH TO GAIN A ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGE AND FOR ENGAGING IN PROPAGANDA EFFORTS TO BLAME THE SOVIET UNION FOR LACK OF PROGRESS. HE ACCUSES THE UNITED STATES OF GOING BACK ON POSITIONS ALREADY AGREED UPON IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND OF THREATENING TO DEVELOP NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS IF NO AGREEMENT IS REACHED. IF WASHINGTON, ARBATOV SAYS, IS DETERMINED TO GO ON WITHOUT A SEARCH OFR A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE POSITION THEN "THIS WILL NOT AID IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AGREEMENT."

3. HUMAN RIGHTS. ARBATOV IS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES OF THE U.S. IN STANDARD SOVIET TERMS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, ACCORDING TO HIM, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETERIORATION ON THE "POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE" BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. HE REJECTS THE NOTION THAT THIS IS JUST THE "USUAL IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" WHICH THE SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS AS COMPATIBLE WITH DETENTE. INSTEAD, HE IMPLIES IT IS "IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE," A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO STIR UP DISTRUST AND HOSTILITY AND WHICH USES "FALSIFICATION OF REALITY" AND EVEN "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY."

4. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. ARBATOV CLAIMS THE PRES-
IDENT'S CHARLESTON SPEECH CONTAINED POSITIVE ELEMENTS, (PARTICULARLY THOSE REGARDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS) AS WELL AS SOME NEGATIVE. HE REJECTS THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTIONS THAT THE SOVIETS MISUNDERSTAND U.S. POLICY. THE EXPLANATIONS WHICH HE SEES BEING OFFERED BY "SOME IN THE U.S." THAT THE PROBLEMS IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE CAUSED BY

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THE FACT THAT THIS IS A "NEW ADMINISTRATION" OR THAT IT
HAS "INADEQUATE EXPERIENCE" OR THIRDLY THAT IT IS A
QUESTION OF A NEW "POLITICAL STYLE" DO NOT, ACCORDING
TO ARBATOV, EXPLAIN ALL OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ARISEN
IN U.S-SOVIET RELATIONS. INSTEAD, ARBATOV CONCLUDES
THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE THE RESULT OF A CALCULATION IN
"RULING CIRCLES" IN THE U.S. THAT THE CORRELATION OF
FORCES HAS CHANGED IN FAVOR OF THE U.S. AND THAT THE
SOVIET UNION NEEDS DETENTE MORE THAN THE WEST. ARBATOV
PROCLAIMS IN STRONG TERMS THAT THIS IS AN INCORRECT
ASSESSEMENT AND THAT THE MYTH THAT CONCESSIONS AND ADVAN-
TAGES CAN BE GAINED FROM THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE IT
IS RELATIVELY MORE DEPENDENT ON DETENTE IS PROFOUNDLY
WRONG. IN STRONG LANGUAGE ARBATOV STATES THAT ONE
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CANNOT SIMULTANEOUSLY BE HOSTILE TO THE SOVIET UNION
AND PRACTICE DETENTE OR FORCE THE ARMS RACE WHILE CON-
DUCTING ARMS TALKS.

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INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
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5. OTHER U.S. POLICIES. ARBATOV IS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF A NUMBER OF U.S. POLICIES AND WHAT HE REFERS TO AS INCONSISTENCIES" IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING
##

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THE STANDARD SOVIET LINE THAT OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS STILL EXIST AND IT IS INTERESTING THAT IN CLOSING HE DOES NOT CLAIM THAT THE BALL IS IN THE U.S. COURT. INSTEAD, HE CLOSES BY SAYING THAT GOOD RELATIONS "DEMAND THE WILL AND REAL EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES."

7. COMMENT: THE ARBATOV PIECE IS THE LONGEST AND MOST AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IN SOME TIME, AND CERTAINLY RECEIVED VERY HIGH LEVEL REVIEW IN THE LEADERSHIP, AT LEAST POLITBURO LEVEL AND POSSIBLY BREZHNEV HIMSELF. THERE ARE THROUGHOUT THE ARTICLE A NUMBER OF VEILED CRITICISMS OF UNNAMED MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION FOR BRINGING ON THE POLICIES WHICH THE SOVIETS CONSIDER OBJECTIONABLE, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO DIRECT OR PERSONAL ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT APART FROM THE ATTACK ON HIS POLICIES. WE DO NOT THINK ARBATOV HAS BROKEN NEW GROUND; RATHER HE APPEARS TO BE SUMMING UP WHERE HE BELIEVES WE STAND AND HOLDING OUT THE HOPE FOR FUTURE PROGRESS WITH THE CLEAR IMPLICATION, HOWEVER, THAT U.S. POLICYMAKERS MUST MAKE MAJOR ADJUSTMENTS.
TOON

NOTE BY OCT: ## OMISSIONS; CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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Message Attributes

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